

Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 IO-13 ISO-00 USIE-00 HA-05 OMB-01
TRSE-00 ACDA-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
SSO-00 INRE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03 PA-01
SP-02 SS-15 /091 W
-----006552 071820Z /41

O 071628Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6895
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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E.O. 11652: ADS
TAGS: PDEV, WA
SUBJ: NAMIBIA - SWAPO PRESS RELEASE

1. THERE FOLLOWS THE COMPLETE TEXT OF A FEB 28 PRESS
RELEASE BY SWAPO HEADQUARTERS IN WINDHOEK, WHICH RECEIVED
VERY LITTLE COVERAGE HERE, AND, WE SUSPECT, EVEN LESS
ELSEWHERE. THE STATEMENT APPEARS CONSISTENT WITH THE
SWAPO POSITION IN NEW YORK. IN THE
STATEMENT SWAPO REAFFIRMS ITS COMMITMENT TO A SOLUTION
CONSISTENT WITH RESOLUTION 385, AND STATES THAT THE
ONLY TWO "CRUCIAL ISSUES" STILL TO BE RESOLVED IN
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THE NAMIBIA NEGOTIATIONS ARE THE LOCATION OF THE 1500 SOUTH
AFRICAN TROOPS, AND THE QUESTION OF WALVIS BAY.
THE STATEMENT WAS NOTABLY POSITIVE ABOUT THE
PROPOSALS AND WAS NOT EVEN VERY ADAMANT ON THE
TWO "CRUCIAL ISSUES". MOREOVER, IT IS SURPRISING
TO SEE AN OFFICIAL SWAPO STATEMENT WHICH ASSERTS
UNRESERVEDLY SWAPO'S WILLINGNESS IN PRINCIPLE TO

RELEASESHIPANGA AND OTHER "COUNTER- REVOLUTIONARIES",
AND ACCEPTS IN PRINCIPLE THAT BOSS AND THE SECURITY
POLICE CAN REMAIN IN THE TERRITORY DURING THE
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

2. THE STATEMENT WAS RELEASED BY SWAPO PUBLICITY
AND INFORMATION SECRETARY MOKGANEDI TLHABANELLO
FOLLOWING HIS RETURN TO WINDHOEK FROM THE PROXIMITY
TALKS.

BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED

3. BEGIN TEXT: LADIES AND GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS,
WE HAVE CALLED THIS PRESS CONFERENCE TO GIVE YOU OUR
IMPRESSIONS, OUR VIEWS AND STANDPOINT REGARDING THE
"PROXIMITY TALKS" WHICH TOOK PLACE IN NEW YORK TO WHICH
SWAPO, SOUTH AFRICA, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE FRONT-
LINE STATES AS WELL AS THE FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE
WESTERN MEMBERS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WERE
INVITED. WE DO THIS AMIDST DELIBERATELY FALSE REPORTS
BY MOST OF YOUR PAPERS AND THE SABC THAT SWAPO
HAS ONCE MORE TORPEDOED THE RECENT TALKS BY COMING UP
WITH "NEW DEMANDS".
WE REGARDED THESE TALKS, ESPECIALLY THE RECENT TALKS, AS
VERY IMPORTANT BECAUSE FOR THE FIRST TIME THE PARTIES CONCERNED
WERE GOING TO DISCUSS "PROPOSALS FOR PEACEFUL
SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA"; SECONDLY, THE FOREIGN MINISTERS
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OF TEN COUNTRIES WERE TO BE INVOLVED IN THESE PROXIMITY
TALKS, THEREFORE WE EXPECTED THIS TO BE AN OCCASION FOR
SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS AND THE OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE MAJOR
POLITICAL DECISIONS - DECISIONS WHICH WILL LAY THE BASIS
FOR A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE MORE THAN 30 YEARS OLD
NAMIBIAN PROBLEM.

DURING THE "PROXIMITY TALKS" AS WELL AS DURING ALL
THE OTHER TALKS WE MADE IT CLEAR THAT SWAPO AS A NATIONAL
LIBERATION MOVEMENT WAGES THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND
INDEPENDENCE ON THREE LEVELS: VIZ ON THE DIPLOMATIC
LEVEL, ON THE MILITARY SPHERE AND ON THE LEVEL OF THE
POLITICAL MASS MOBILIZATION, ESPECIALLY ON THE HOME
FRONT. IN THE LIGHT OF THIS, SO WE REPEATED MORE THAN
OFTEN,(SIC, WE ARE COMMITTED TO NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN
NAMIBIA PROVIDED IT IS BASED ON SINCERITY AND
IS CONDUCTED IN GOOD FAITH.

DURING EACH STAGE OF THE TALKS WE EMPHASIZED TO THE
WESTERN FIVE THAT, WHILE WE HAVE A DEEP YEARNING TO SEE
OUR COUNTRY FREE AND INDEPENDENT, THE INTERESTS OF THE
OPPRESSED PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA SHOULD FOR NO MINUTE BE
EQUATED WITH SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGITIMATE COLONIAL
INTERESTS IN NAMIBIA.

SEEING THAT THE WEST, LIKE US IN SWAPO, ARE IN SEARCH OF
A SOLUTION IN NAMIBIA "IN ACCORDANCE WITH RESOLUTION 385."
ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON JANUARY
30, 1976, WE HAVE INSISTED THAT THIS RESOLUTION (385)
SHOULD NOT BE WATERED DOWN OR EVEN SIDE-STEPPED FOR THE
SAKE OF EXPEDIENCY. WE THEREFORE DEMANDED AND STILL
DEMAND THAT THE TRANSITIONAL PROCESS BE EFFECTIVELY
CONTROLLED AND SUPERVISED BY THE UN. IN OUR VIEW THIS
CAN ONLY BE DONE BY AN EFFECTIVE UN PRESENCE IN
NAMIBIA BOTH IN CIVILIAN AND MILITARY SENSE. ALTHOUGH
THE WEST HAS BEEN RELUCTANT TO DEFINE, THE SIZE
ENVISAGED FOR THE UN TRANSITIONAL ASSISTANCE GROUP,
SWAPO SUGGESTED A CIVILIAN GROUP OF 1,000 AND A MILITARY
FORCE OF 5,000 TROOPS. HOWEVER, IN THE INTEREST OF
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ACHIEVING A SOLUTION TO THE NAMIBIAN PROBLEM ACCEPTABLE
TO BOTH THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMUNITY, WE HAVE NOW AND AGAIN TRIED TO COMPROMISE
AND EVEN MAKE SERIOUS CONCESSIONS. THEREFORE WE ARE
NOT TOO RIGID ON THE ABOVE-MENTIONED FIGURES ALTHOUGH
WE REGARD THEM AS REALISTIC IN THE LIGHT OF TREMENDOUS
TASKS AWAITING THESE PEOPLE.

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RESOLUTION 385 SPECIFICALLY STIPULATES THE FOLLOWING
FOUR KEY STEPS AS A WAY OF RESOLVING THE PROBLEM OF
NAMIBIA:

- 1) WITHDRAWAL OF THE ILLEGAL ADMINISTRATION, INCLUDING
ALL S.A. TROOPS,
- 2) RELEASE OF ALL NAMIBIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS HELD BY
SOUTH AFRICA,
- 3) SOUTH AFRICA'S RECOGNITION OF NAMIBIA'S TERRITORIAL
INTEGRITY AND NATIONAL UNITY AND THEN
- 4) THE HOLDING OF FREE, NATIONAL ELECTIONS UNDER THE
SUPERVISION AND CONTROL OF THE U.N.

IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT THESEFOUR KEY STEPS OF RESOLUTION
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385, SWAPO HAD PROPOSED DURING THE PREVIOUS TALKS
THAT ALL S.A TROOPS BE WITHDRAWN FROM NAMIBIA AS THE
ESSENTIAL PRE-CONDITION FOR FREE, FAIR AND DEMOCRATIC
ELECTIONS TO TAKE PLACE. BUT HAVING CONSIDERED THE
INSISTENCE OF THE FIVE WESTERN GOVERNMENTS THAT A TOKEN
FORCE OF 1,500 S.A. TROOPS REMAINS IN THE NAMIBIA DURING
THE ELECTORAL PROCES AS A "FACE-SAVING DEVICE"
FOR SOUTH AFRICA, WE MADE A CONCESSION IN THIS REGARD
IN ORDER TO FACILITATE PROGRESS IN THESE DELICATE
NEGOTIATIONS TOWARDS A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE
NAMIBIAN PROBLEM. THE LOCATION OF THESE FORCES IS STILL
AN OUTSTANDING ISSUE AS WE SUGGESTED THAT THEY BE BASED
IN HARASBURG IN THE SOUTH TO BE MONITORED BY A UN PEACE
KEEPING FORCE.

WE HAVE ALSO ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE OF SUBMITTING SWAPO
FORCES TO THE CONFINEMENT, SURVEILLANCE AND
MONITORING OF THE UN IN NAMIBIA IN ORDER TO ENSURE
THAT THE CEASE-FIRE AGREEMENT TO BE ENTERED INTO BY
SWAPO AND S.A., IS EFFECTIVELY OBSERVED.

HOWEVER, SA STILL REFUSES TO REDUCE HER FORCES TO
LESS THAN RNPPP TROOPS AND INSISTS ON HAVING THESE
TROOPS DEPLOYED AT GROOTFONTEIN, OSHIVELO AND EIGHT
PLACES (BASES) ALONG THE NORTHERN BORDER. IN ADDITION
TO THAT THEY STILL WANT TO KEEP MORE THAN A DIVISION
OF THEIR ARMED FORCES IN WALVIS BAY UNDER THE PRETEXT
THAT WALVIS BAY IS PART OF SOUTH AFRICA. THE WITH-

DRAWAL OF ALL BUT 1,500 SA TROOPS, WILL GO TOGETHER WITH THE DEMOBILIZATION OF THE CITIZEN FORCES, COMMANDOS AND ETHNIC FORCES AS WELL AS THE DISMANTLING OF THEIR COMMAND STRUCTURES WE HAVE ADDED THAT THE SHOOTING CLUBS SHOULD BE EQUALLY DISMANTLED. WE HAVE ACCEPTED THE PRINCIPLE THAT THE SA POLICE, INCLUDING BOSS AND THE SECURITY POLICE MAY STAY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN LAW AND ORDER AS UNDERSTOOD BY CIVILIZED PEOPLE. FOR THESE PURPOSES WE BELIEVE THAT THEIR PRESENT PARAMILITARY STRUCTURE AND ATTITUDE WILL HAVE TO BE DISMANTLED TOO AND THEY WILL HAVE TO BE PUT UNDER THE JOINT CONTROL OF UNITED NATIONS SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE AND A SOUTH AFRICAN SENIOR CIVIL SERVANT. WE HAVE AGREED TO THE PRINCIPLE OF RELEASING THE ELEVEN COJNTER-REVOLUTIONARIES LED BY SHIPANGA AS A GESTURE OF GOOD WILL TOWARDS THESE TALKS. WE HAVE SUGGESTED THAT ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS BE RELEASED WITHIN TWO WEEKS AFTER ASSUMPTION OF DUTIES BY THE UN SPECIAL REP. WHILE THERE ARE SOME PROCEDURAL DETAILS TO BE IRONED OUT BEFORE AN AGREEMENT IS REACHED, THERE ARE ONLY TWO CRUCIAL ISSUES TO BE RESOLVED, THEY ARE
A) THE LOCATION OF THE 1,500 SA TROOPS - THE WEST HAS SUGGESTED GROOTFONTEIN AND/OR OSHIVELO WHILE WE SUGGESTED KARASBURG
B) THE ISSUE OF WALVIS BAY.

IN OUR VIEW AND AS FAR AS WE ARE CONCERNED A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IS POSSIBLE. IT DEPENDS, HOWEVER, FROM THE ATTITUDE OF SA, THEIR SINCERITY AND HONESTY. WE CANNOT UNDERSTAND WHY "AN ATMOSPHERE CONDUSIVE FOR FREE FAIR ELECTIONS" MEANS "A MARXIST TAKE-OVER" TO PIK BOTHA UNLESS HE IMPLIES OR ADMITS THAT SWAPO (WHICH HE REGARDS TO BE MARXIST) WILL TAKE OVER ONCE SUCH AN ATMOSPHERE HAS CREATED*
WE HAVE SERIOUS DOUBTS WHETHER SA HAS EVER BEEN INTERESTED IN FREE ELECTIONS AS ENVISAGED BY THE NAMIBIAN PEOPLE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, AND WHETHER THEY EVER INTEND TO RELINQUISH THEIR COLONIAL DESIGNS IN NAMIBIA. THEIR PRE-OCCUPATION WITH, WHAT THEY TERM, AN INTERNAL SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE SEEN AT THIS BACK-GROUND.
SWAPO OF NAMIBIA WISHES TO STATE IT CATEGORICALLY THAT ANYBODY WHO THINKS ALONG THE LINES OF AN INTERNAL SETTLEMNT WILL BE BITTERLY FRISTRATED.
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28TH FEBRUARY, 1978, DEPT OF INFORMATION AND
PUBLICITY.
BOWDLER

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